[p. 24]

## SECTION II.

### OCCUPATION.

24/ 465 [63] The greater proportion of the population subsists by cultivation. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings, high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pán*. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tubers is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in carrying rice up the hill from Therie to Cherrapunji, Shillong, and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the European and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the head quarters of the Administration.

463 482 439 462 [64] [65] [62] [57]

1:Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1927 ADT Khasi ADT



this season, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the females 6 annas a day. Col. Dicey writes that in 1873 the wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 6 annas a day, and for females 3½ to 4 annas, so that the wages now have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Servants and skilled labourers are able to get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the population is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

### SPECULATION.

I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on speculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u symp tapis Indrei*, and the other *u lyngi*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian. This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, when they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the honey it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

played with a little wooden key held in the hand. *Ka nongnoi* is an instrument much the same as the last, but is played with a bow like a violin. *Ka nongthiang* is a kind of guitar with one string, played with the fingers.

*Ka tangmuri* is a wooden pipe, which is played like a fagotin. *Ka lyndkin*, or *shidkarien*, are cymbals made of bell metal; *ka shirdit*, or *ka thingsiang*, is a kind of flute made of bamboo. This instrument is played at ceremonial ceremonies, and when the bones and ashes of a dead are collected and placed in the family tomb, or *mawbah*. This flute is not played on ordinary occasions. In the folk-lore portion of the Monograph will be found a tale regarding it. There are other kinds of flutes which are played on ordinary occasions. The Wars of the twenty-five villages in the Khyrim State make a sort of harp out of reed, which is called *ka 'ding ding phong*. The Khasis also play a *dored* harp (*ka nongi*), which is made of bamboo.

AGRICULTURE.

The Khasis are industrious cultivators, although they are behindhand in some of their methods of cultivation, (e.g. their failure to adopt the use of the plough in the greater portion of the district); they are thoroughly aware of the uses of manures. Their system of burning the soils, allowing them to dry, then burning them, and raking the ashes over the soil, is much in advance of any system of natural manuring to be seen elsewhere in the Province. The Khasis use the following agricultural implements:—A large hoe (*mukhia hok*), an axe for felling trees (*u sohi*), a large do for felling trees (*ka sad kynsan*), two kinds of bill-hooks (*ka sohi pnoi* and *ka sohi khmat*), a sickle (*ka sohi*), a plough in parts of the Jaintia Hills (*ka kynthei*), and a harrow (*ka sat mat*). In dealing with agriculture, the lands of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be divided into the following classes:—(a) Forest land, (b) wet paddy land called *kali* or *pynthor*, (c) high grass land or *ka ri lum* or *ka ri pdiang*, (d) homestead land (*ka 'dew kyppi*). Forest lands are cleared by the process known as *jhooming*, the trees being felled early in the winter and allowed to lie till January or February.

I:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?



when fire is applied, logs of wood being placed at intervals of a few feet to prevent as far as possible the ashes being blown away by the wind. The lands are not hoed, nor treated any further, paddy and millet being sown broadcast, and the seeds of root crops, as well as of maize and Job's tears, being dibbled into the ground by means of small hoes. No manure, beyond the wood ashes above mentioned, is used on this class of land; there is no irrigation, and no other system of watering is resorted to. The seeds are sown generally when the first rain falls. This style of cultivation, or *jhum*, is largely resorted to by the people inhabiting the eastern and southern portions of the Jaintia Hills, e.g. the Bhois and Lalungs, the Lyngams and Garos of the western tracts of the district. Wet paddy land (*hali* or *pynthor*) is, as the name implies, the land where the kind of paddy which requires a great deal of water is grown. The bottoms of valleys are divided up into little compartments by means of fairly high banks corresponding to the *kumuns* *dia*, and the water is let in at will into these compartments by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a mile or more in length. The soil is made into a thick paste in the Jaintia Hills by means of the plough, and in the Khasi Hills through the agency of the hoe. Droves of cattle also are driven repeatedly over the paddy-fields until the soil has acquired the right consistency. The seed is then sown broadcast in the wet soil. It is not sown first in a seedling bed and then transplanted, as in Assam and Bengal. When the plants have grown to a height of about four inches, water is let in again; then comes the weeding, which has to be done several times. When the crop is ripe, the ears are cut with a sickle (*ka sadi*) generally, so as to leave almost the entire stalk, and are left in different parts of the field. A peculiarity about the Lyngams and the Khasis and Bhois of the low hills, or Bhois as they are called, is that they reckon it easy, or taboo, to use the sickle. They reap their grain by pulling the ear through the hand. The sheaves, after they are dry, are collected and threshed out on the spot, either by beating them against a [illegible] (*ka shat kiei*), or by men and women treading them out (*ka-kiei*). Cattle are not used for treading out the grain. The grain is then collected and placed in large bamboo receptacles

a Gibson E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART



*After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they* 244
are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam, and another kind of succulent root—*u sohphlang* (*Stemona vestita Roxb.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops."

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and 249 •
proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:— 518

(1) *Wot ju ei thong jingthang ne lot synshai ha ulo eniew ki.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown 577
by one who has a bad hand.

An elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that 579
some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky.

(2) *Thong diang ha lot synshai haba ngam lumi, ym bobo shei a lumi.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waning, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei ia snor kha ha burong ngangi jaw mint phim ne ish jingpyrsa lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

## RICE.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided 243
into two main classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, 488
and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 417 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1898, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 6.6 maunds per acre (resulting from 467 cuttings made during the

The slaves and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or division of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the Iyngdohs. The duties of Iyngdohs with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the kur, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the Iyngdoh by their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the sang or taboo, of such a connection from the kindred. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to u'lei Iyngdoh and a goat to Ka Ioi long roj. The parties at fault are then entreated. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the Iyngdohs themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that they are the customary heirs of all the persons who die without having female heirs (ing dat). In other States also such property passes to the Siem. The Iyngdoh of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (jingthli) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the Pnar expedition to the Jaintia Hills, the Iyngdoh, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the Iyngdoh renders in return is to build the offered pawn a new house; when, indeed, we take into account the carting forth of the dead by the Iyngdoh. Mr. Jenkins, of Shnongpyng, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these evil spirits and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the Iyngdohs over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it seems to my notice in Sutnga that crops cannot be cut until the Iyngdoh has seen them, in other words, until the Iyngdoh has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the Iyngdoh is worth the

I: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?



This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs, which they call *ma-ji*. For these they pay very high prices, Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the Garo Hills, and I hear that when a sahem, or head-man, dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They use two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down most of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy thrifties are sown the cotton plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and some potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar manner. Those that sow the last named plant hoe (Hindi *nidai dai*) in the forest clearings, and sow the seeds therein. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7



custom of their own from cultivating the *dandon*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and other articles to dry. Some Lyngam houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a sitting room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongchhar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekhairngs* or bachelors' clubhouses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morangs* of the Kacharis. This is a custom of the Tibeto-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be as much as evidence as in the Khasi villages. There is little or no furniture in a Lyngam house. The Lyngam sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a [illegible]

(42) to take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lee. She has two
57 sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters
who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters
has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother
(58) and form the family clan of the Lee. To these we also add the sons
and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The
latter have nothing to do with the family Lee but belong to the family
clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Like-
wise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lee, nor the husbands of the vari-
ous daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They
are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them accord-
ing to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps
after dark.

63) The entire clan-family of Lee is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
(57) stand near to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the
other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
• (20) garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes,
potato-like roots of Sub-ur and Sohew, bananas and, on the southern
slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other
fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for
building purposes, household objects, and /136/ implements surrounds
the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up so thick as an arm
to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good pro-
tection against bad weather. A wall (mawsha) of thrown-up earth en-
closes everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded
access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations
of wild animals.

(23) What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily
it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain
(24) and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
are fields for the cultivation of cane, orange groves, betel groves,
plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are
so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (1)

1. Cf. Becker, Im Stromgebiet des Brahmaputra. /In the River Valley
of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1913), pp. 117 ff.

(25) Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can
nourish itself properly and also increase in number.

(27) According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
(28) corresponding number of cows, oxen, bees, pigs, and goats. Neither
the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious rumor of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all.

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead.

(Continuation follows)

/384/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Wittenberg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property

10. The Khasis, p. 97.

of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jawoh Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meagre salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongsohen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Lyngkang, to the day he went thither. After the customary greetings and refreshments with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan Mantri and the elder-

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR? Khasi AR?



—the *Shyngkop*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *ummyni*, or centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is hewn on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongkoi*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said indeed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

*Agriculture.*—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mukkhoe*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the year 1831,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. *Job's-tears* (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Bolghol* (*Flemingia rostata*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the betel tree (*Uriyrpud*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Rivett-Carnac.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and custodian of the family property so long as she lives. Sales or even mortgages of property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs require sanctioned property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest sister, and failing a sister, to the youngest female cousin. The same

15: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?



137 198 244 Besides these political and religious changes, there have been very important changes in Khasi economy, particularly by the spread of potato cultivation. Potatoes were first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott. Since then, the upland Khasi Hills have been completely planted with potatoes. This grassland seems to be very easily adapted to potato cultivation; it spread so rapidly and successfully, becoming basic economy of the people, that they hardly remember life without potatoes. Information is very scanty on what was the major cultivation before the potato. However, we may surmise that they must have practised jhum cultivation as do the present people in War and Bhoi. Nowadays, there are no jhum fields in the uplands as there are practically no forests with which to make jhum fields. There must have been a long period of jhum cultivation, which resulted in recent ecological changes in the uplands through the exploitation of the jungle. This hypothesis might be supported by the existence of big timbers in old buildings in the Khasi Hills, as well as by the present economic techniques of the people.

137 244 241 The present potato cultivation is also a kind of shifting cultivation like jhuming, with a rotation from three years to five years. The uplands are covered with grassland, and sometimes with scanty pine trees which were also introduced by the British. For potato cultivation, the Khasi first cut branches from these pine trees, and the grassland is cultivated by the small Khasi hoe. They root out grasses with earth attached about three inches in depth and one foot square. These pieces are turned onto the cultivated surface, where fallen leaves, branches and wild grass have been spread, in such a way as to keep a space between the ground and the turned up clods of earth. The field in which the potatoes are to be planted is entirely covered in this way. The grass and leaves are set on fire in one corner of the field and this fire spreads through the middle space and burns all of the grass and branches, thus converting it into excellent manure. The potatoes are planted afterwards. Two crops of potatoes are raised generally in a year. The following year the field is shifted to another grass-growing area, leaving for a few years the last field to grow another crop of grass. This is a type of small-scale jhum cultivation. This example of the present economic method suggests that the Khasi had been jhum cultivators before potatoes were introduced. It might be indicative of the last stage of jhum cultivation when the forests are completely exhausted. Before the potatoes, they must have grown yams, maize and millet more or less in the same manner. These crops are still cultivated on a small scale along with potatoes; the yield must be very low as compared with that of the War areas, obtained through the exploitation of land. In the uplands, pan culti-

198 244 [241]

15: Nakase E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7



## I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashimong[1] one of the areas under the Chorra Chief. The Kadashimong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Chorra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rongagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected these villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 98 households (List 6), and Kongton of 60 households (List 5). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashimong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "jhuming cultivation." The differences between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have *pan-leaf* gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the *jhum* field is quite an

1. Kadashimong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Pynursla, Shortlessey, Shortlait, Shyrwang, Kongton, Shyrtong, Kyllonsiaw, Pde, Tyndrai, Nongpyrung, and Dongpen. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Chorra State.)

group of matrilineal and War-Khasi-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 4' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 7' and 26° 7' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their dialectal residence patterns and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Shallow in eastern Jaintia are a Bodo people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Gheevala (1962) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoi, War, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Hajongs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, as the Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars, although the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Cotta 1899 and 1907; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations. Geography: The District is 3,384 square miles of hills upthrust, irregularly dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward northeast from Shillong Peak, which at 6,450 feet is the highest point in the District, and rise about 50 miles east into the Sadiaspatten valley where this is some 200 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoon drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Nongwmain villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 35 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Sadiaspatten valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is rough, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. (Cf. Barker 1930; Ahuja 1935.) Linguistic affiliation: Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nyahkurs, and Pa'laung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi proper, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Gurdon adds War. Cynthia notes variations exist from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1841, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. (Cf. Sahni 1881, Gurdon 1907–10; Jy Hooh 1961.)

14: McCormack E-4.9 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 107 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

[illegible] water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained ceremonial buildings and grounds; the house of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other presumed spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths lead into villages from all directions. Often several villages are [illegible] into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." There were once defense units, but were or territories otherwise that institutions [illegible] existed among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. Housing. The traditional Khasi house is oriented through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and a place [illegible] for a [illegible] visitor; it is about 30 feet long and is ellipsoid in [illegible] in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks or [illegible] covered with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls to form eaves, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts, the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, area for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is [illegible] with unscreened. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigpen, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with straw or bamboo and reed. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. (Cf. Middleton et al. 1963.)

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade, [illegible] ham. On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still primarily swidden farming with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

were used chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques. 2 - 4-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, soils are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the soils are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sown with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The outdoor part of the upland region is terracing crops, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Khasi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. These upland Khasis have home gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including greens, beans, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplants, and many others. Important crops in this country are paddy rice, taro, cucumbers, cotton, tomatoes and pineapples, in War, they are hated rice, corn, millet, oranges, and sugar cane. Fishing and hunting. Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [2 September 1958] Gathering. Khasis once gathered about 100 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Wild-food plants continue to be very important. Domestic animals. Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are hated both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milk cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but usually also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a commonly hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are partially, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. Food and abstinence. The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but because the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain clan. Nonclans are commonly reported, especially beef eat, which is often accompanied by a lot of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household brewers, whose distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold to the place and by the bottle. Imported spirits had spread widely in the subjective Khasi country, but villages restricted in the 1960s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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1.7.7

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P 108 B] AR? Khasi AR?

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts universally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of iron tools, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton thread (Nongkrem village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jowai, Khasi; Lyngngam, War); the spinning and weaving of silk (Khynriang and Nongkrem villages, Khasi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Lamin village, Jaintia). Indoor clothing and the production of cotton goods have small, but are through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved as a specialty of major importance in the housing and tailoring, an evening [illegible] of ready-made garments for both sexes. (3 March 1966 C. W. Hill) Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The hosts of market commerce for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasi from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small area contains at least seven local forms produced, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the local and tea malt, which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional products and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade from the hills to the valleys, as potatoes, green fodder for cattle, cattle, dried fish, betel nut, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, oil, turmeric, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy, rice salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for communication (including archaic competitions), courtship, affirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. (13 September 1956) Division of labor. How do the sexes work, such as clearing and burning the soil, the fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry, and sewing, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also make many

...ers from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August-September. For paddy, generally three crops are raised in the district; the first is sown in September-October and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and bananas the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of oranges takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

3.6.3 Agricultural implements.—The most agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, axes or four kinds of dahs, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, harrow and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in West area and rotavator the use in use in the plains of the Khasi.

3.6.4 Present cultural practices.—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. A number of crops is sown mixed with. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Weeding and earthing is usually done by hand. Cultivation by making terraces in the undulating hilly plantain. Cultivation by making terraces in the undulating is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the undulating hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

3.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage industry is common, here and there very good honey among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, bamboo, cane and basket, brass and bell metal wares, leather, soap and jewellery. In working centres with which persons, weaving of cotton, cloths is now going the Khasis. The Garo is also in this area and to some adjoining Garo Hills District and Mikir Hills practice is only for their domestic consumption. At present the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and the two weavers' by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries the production of oil cakes in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and tea keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

3.8 The People.—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short, sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes by certain clear cut facts and features and in respect of manners, habits, they are the Khasis are intelligent folk to side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nagas who have respectively 1.00 persons, 0.86 persons and 0.02 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the remaining portion of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border area.

3.9 Occupation.—The general portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. Work done by persons of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturist cares well besides have a high regard for hard labour

and only the rest in the area do not find anything to work so labourers in other's farms. It is almost necessary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is partially on account of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number of persons and labourers engaged to join like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of timbers, wood, fuel, etc. Collection and of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programmes under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, not for all kinds of works demanding qualified labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various land pockets of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Kanara are indefatigable traders and labourers able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as cane cutting, brick making, tile kilning, blacksmithy, oil and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1961 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural area of the district was as follows:

TABLE 1

**Number of Persons (Source 1961 Census)**

| Class | Male | Female | Total | P.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| A. Agricultural classes: | | | | |
| 1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents | 60,980 | 62,247 | 1,23,744 | 39.66 |
| 2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents | 12,210 | 12,120 | 24,330 | 07.80 |
| 3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents | 14,000 | 14,040 | 28,040 | 8.99 |
| 4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents | 540 | 460 | 1000 | .32 |
| Sub-total ... ... ... | 1,87,730 | 1,22,170 | 2,40,900 | 77.25 |
| B. Non-agricultural classes: | | | | |
| 1. Production other than cultivation | 12,760 | 12,500 | 25,260 | 8.04 |
| 2. Commerce ... ... | 5,280 | 2,820 | 8,100 | 2.59 |
| 3. Transport ... ... | 810 | 360 | 1170 | .38 |
| 4. Other services and miscellaneous sources | 15,240 | 12,520 | 27,760 | 8.90 |
| Sub-total ... ... ... | 34,090 | 28,200 | 62,290 | 19.96 |
| Total ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | 3,12,190 | 100.00 |

• 245 244 2 D. **Labour and Wages.** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farms engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labours even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains districts of the State, which compels cultivators to hire labourers even for small paddy fields. As in the case of cash crops, wages are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.1.00 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Rs. 1.50 for females.

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less than usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to engage the number of hands they want at very low rates. Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

*Land utilization and cropping*

423 424 3. 11 **Land tenure system.**—The district of United K-J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and as far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid uniform or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliable statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 423 423 1. **Rikyntí or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Sirdar nor District Council has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

There is another 102·21 acres of land in Subacherra in the Indo Pakistan Border which is under tea plantation since prepartition period. After partition this area has fallen into India. But at present though tea plantation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected at all since the company has gone to Pakistan. 423 651 648

There are also in Jowai subdivision 15 numbers of building land sites, mostly leased out to non Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area comes to 397·39 acres with a total revenue of Rs.216·84 per year. The period of the lease varies from one plot to another.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.6 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Shillong subdivision only 31 Sirdarships which were formerly known as British Sirdarships have to pay house tax.

2.12 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops. 241 433

**TABLE 2**

| | 1958-59 | |
|---|---|---|
| Winter rice ... ... ... ... | 37,800 | acres. |
| Maize ... ... ... ... | 8,000 | " |
| Other cereals ... ... ... ... | 1,000 | " |
| Potato ... ... ... ... | 21,600 | " |
| Chillies ... ... ... ... | 350 | " |
| Sweet potato ... ... ... ... | 5,400 | " |
| Linseed ... ... ... ... | 180 | " |
| Cotton ... ... ... ... | 50 | " |
| Tobacco ... ... ... ... | 600 | " |
| Arecanut ... ... ... ... | 13,455 | " |
| Orange ... ... ... ... | 20,000 | " |
| Betel-leaf ... ... ... ... | 10,000 | " |
| Total ... ... | 1,18,435 | acres. |

19: Assam C-3 (1956) 1965 65° Gen: 65



3.3 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been constant demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problems has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border position deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened.

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. There shall no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the observations put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the schemes linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for wet paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the markets for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other valuable crops on their own initiative wherever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has stood as a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary.

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that apart from being inadequate they are often untimely. As a result the people, needy as they are, utilise the amount for meeting their day to day consumption expenses.

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads transport of border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting them from remote interiors to the various local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during winter season these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the steep gradients, during rainy seasons these tracks become slippery, the streams and rivulets are overflooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to closure of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned test relief schemes for construction of feeder roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some works to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce.

[illegible] state of time. Chemical fertilizers are found to be used by some cultivators but there is still a large section of cultivators who [illegible] the use of fertilizers. There is need of [illegible] and demonstrations in the proper use of fertilizers and manures.

The present method of land classification of India by testing with a rod of wood is a waste of time and labour. There is no reason why the testing of soil by using balloons or in the [illegible]

● [H] 9 (1) **Agriculture.**—The following table summarises a few salient features of agriculture in the selected villages:—

**TABLE 9-01**

**Crops raised and agricultural practices prevalent in the selected villages.**

| Name of village | Important crops raised in the village | Agricultural implements used | Manure used |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| **Shamba area.**— | | | |
| 1. Kondo | Maize, groundnut, oranges and pulses. | Hoes, bush jembes and plough. | Yes. |
| 2. Kwale | Oranges, bananas and beans and pulses. | Hoes, bush and plough | Sparingly. |
| 3. Lumbwa-ng'a | Oranges, pulses and millet | Hoes and bush | Yes. |
| 4. Kisumu | Groundnut, bean etc. | Hoes and bush | Yes. |
| 5. Kibwoko | Pigeon, bananas, groundnut, black pepper and oranges | Hoes and bush | Yes. |
| 6. Lungalwa | Pulses and maize | Hoes and bush | Yes. |
| 7. Kisite | Groundnuts, groundnut and oranges | Hoes and bush | Yes. |
| 8. Kuze | Pulses, millet and maize | Hoes, bush and plough | Yes. |
| 9. Kongoni | Groundnut, oranges | Hoes and bush | Yes. |
| 10. Kinkapuli | Beans, bananas and pulses | Hoes, bush and plough | Yes. |
| **Pongwa area.**— | | | |
| 1. Kisimiwa | Pulses and maize | Hoes, bush and plough | Yes. |
| 2. Kidong | Pulses and maize | Hoes, bush and plough | Sparingly, when wheat and barley. |
| 3. Lisoko | Pulses, maize and millet | Hoes, plough and bush | Yes. |
| 4. Pwisa-Ukuwi | Pulses and green grass | Hoes, bush and plough | Sparingly, during rainy season. |
| 5. Mukwa | Pulses and grass | Hoes, bush and plough | Sparingly |
| 6. Kongo | Pulses, maize and millet | Plough, bush and hoes | Sparingly and bush-ways. |
| 7. Mwaplamwa | Pulses, millet and grass | Plough, bush and hoes | Sparingly |
| Others | Groundnut, bean, millet and sesame | Hoes and bush | Yes. |

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Contd. ...

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. [illegible] | Paddy and ragi | Hoe, hoe and plough | [illegible] |
| 6. Jowar | Paddy, maize etc. involved | Hoe, hoe and plough | Do. |
| 7. Bajra | Paddy, maize etc. | Hoe, hoe and plough | Do. |
| 8. Horsegram | Paddy, maize and jowar | Hoe, hoe and plough | Do. |
| 9. Ragi | Paddy, maize and millet | Hoe, hoe and plough | Do. |
| 10. Sesamum | Paddy, maize and millet | Hoe, hoe and plough | Hoe and [illegible] |
| 11. Groundnut | Paddy, jowar and maize | Hoe, hoe and plough | Sesamum |
| 12. Sugarcane | Paddy and maize | Hoe, hoe and plough | Do. |
| 13. Tobacco | Paddy, jowar and maize | Hoe and hoe | Do. |
| 14. Turmeric | Tapioca, tapioca, millet and chillies | Hoe and hoe | Do. |

This table reveals that in one region there is time for each crop and in the other for four crops or two depending upon the soil and topography of the regions. Extensive farming means that there is deficiency in food production or a glut in the market of each crops. The cash crop producers are, of course, trying to adapt their crops to the changing market conditions. With the loss of market for oranges, the people in the border areas are trying to increase their tendious production and start cultivating paddy, jowar, etc. Throughout the district, people are trying to increase wet paddy cultivation. Wherever water is available, they have an eye to convert it into a wet paddy field. Similarly, increasing interest is evident among the people in the cultivation of valuable crops like black-pepper, cardamom, etc., which have a good prospect in the border areas. It is felt that there is considerable scope for intensification of cultivation of chillies, turmeric, coffee, etc. But any new endeavour demands heavy initial investment which often is not within the reach of cultivators. Government should continue to advance adequate agricultural loans to the needy cultivators in a better planned manner.

Only 19 out of 89 villages reported use of bullock drawn ploughs for wet paddy cultivation. But even in these villages animal power is not universally used. Of course, in the rocky fields people have no alternative to the use of hoes and spades but in some areas particularly in the wet paddy field, bullock drawn ploughs may profitably be utilised. It is not that the farmers do not realise the advantage of ploughing but want of funds for purchase of bullocks, etc., is reported to be the cause of continuance of the old practice. Both broadcasting and transplanting methods are in vogue in paddy cultivation the latter being a recent introduction is gaining popularity. Some farmers in the project area villages have tried line sowing but according to them it is very laborious and requires to

[illegible]

59

It will be seen that wholly agricultural families, in Border area, Project area and Control area are 70, 85 and 79 p.c respectively of the rural families. Classifying the 'fairly agricultural' families and families deriving agriculture as principal occupation, as predominantly agricultural families the proportion of such families by Border area, Project area and Control area stand at 88 p.c, 78 p.c and 89 p.c respectively. This is clear that in the Border area the proportion of predominantly agricultural families is the lowest. The reason for this can be safely ascribed to the non-bank nearest due to closure of markets after partition. A close study of tables C(1) and C(2) below and table C.(2).1 in the appendix will bear testimony to the fact that in Border area there is evidence of a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural occupation especially labour (non-agricultural).

Predominantly agricultural families have been classified into five groups:- Non-cultivating owner, owner cultivator, tenants, part-owner and part-tenants and landless agricultural labourers. The number of families and the proportion of each of these groups in the three areas are as follows:-

TABLE 09

## Classification of Predominantly Agricultural Families

| Item | Rural area | | | Urban area | | | Overall area | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of families | | | No. of families | | | No. of families | | |
| | Families with land | Land-less families | Total | Families with land | Land-less families | Total | Families with land | Land-less families | Total |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| 1. Non-cultivating owners | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Owned agricultural farms (incl. all agri. part of mixed farms) | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Tenant farming (incl. sharing & part of mixed farms) | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Non owned and with tenant sharing families (incl. any part of mixed farms) | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Landless agricultural labourers | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE XX

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Border area ... ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 2. Project area ... ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 3. General area ... ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

Thus it is seen that of the owned land as much as 86 per cent in Border area, 14 per cent in Project area and 12 per cent in General area were left fallow.

Considering the number of families, it was found that in Border area villages as many as 86 families had either wholly leased out or left fallow their owned land, the corresponding position for Project area and General area being only 9 and 1 respectively.

TABLE 24

Number of families of different occupational types holding lands of various sizes

| Size of holding (acres) | No. of families | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Wholly agricultural | Agriculture as principal occupation | Agriculture as subsidiary occupation | Subsistence of agriculture | All occupations |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. BORDER AREA | | | | | |
| 1. No land | 108 (21.1%) | 23 (17.4%) | 62 (24.4%) | 111 (77.8%) | 304 (29.1%) |
| 2. Less than 1 acre | 42 (8.2%) | 13 (9.8%) | 39 (15.4%) | 1 (0.8%) | 95 (9.1%) |
| 3. 1 to less than 5 acres | 98 (17.5%) | 39 (29.5%) | 87 (34.3%) | 19 (13.3%) | 173 (16.6%) |
| 4. 5 to less than 10 acres | 147 (28.7%) | 47 (35.6%) | 49 (19.3%) | 11 (7.7%) | 254 (24.3%) |
| 5. 10 and above | 118 (23.0%) | 10 (7.6%) | 17 (6.7%) | 1 (0.8%) | 146 (14.0%) |
| Total | 513 (100.0%) | 132 (100.0%) | 254 (100.0%) | 143 (100.0%) | 1042 (100.0%) |
| 2. (Project area) | | | | | |
| 1. No land | 171 (29.1%) | 9 (4.2%) | 71 (19.9%) | 48 (97.9%) | 299 (29.3%) |
| 2. Less than 1 acre | 60 (10.2%) | 5 (2.4%) | 33 (10.2%) | -- | 97 (9.5%) |
| 3. 1 to less than 5 acres | 111 (19.0%) | 85 (39.9%) | 96 (26.9%) | 1 (2.0%) | 293 (28.8%) |
| 4. 5 to less than 10 acres | 113 (19.3%) | 73 (34.3%) | 78 (21.8%) | 1 (2.0%) | 265 (26.0%) |
| 5. 10 acres and above | 73 (12.4%) | 41 (19.2%) | 79 (22.1%) | -- | 113 (11.1%) |
| Total | 586 (100.0%) | 213 (100.0%) | 357 (100.0%) | 49 (100.0%) | 1017 (100.0%) |

TABLE [illegible]

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Cultivated area— | | | | | |
| 1. No land ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 2. Less than 1 acre ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 3. 1 to less than 5 acres ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | ... | [illegible] |
| 4. 5 to less than 10 acres ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | ... | [illegible] |
| 5. 10 acres and above ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | ... | ... | [illegible] |
| Total ... | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

6.2 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occupation or independent of agriculture have land out of cultivation. The fact why agriculture for these families who possess cultivable land, was relegated to a subsidiary occupation or possibly ceased due to low returns from agriculture than their attachment to it.

## FRAGMENTATION

182 311 423 6.44 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which render such holdings uneconomic. In addition, the holding of rural families often have from the evils of fragmentation. Often holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains district, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy field) nor inheritance legislation as such other factors as would give rise to excessive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no enforcement regulation and the people are free to cultivate as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here is also seen as a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated patches.

The extent of fragmentation is presented in the following table :

24

[illegible] The rural number of fragments in 647 holding in Sardis of one to 0.400 gives an average of 0.68 fragments per holding. In rural holdings in project area is 0.[illegible] which gives on the average 1.04 fragment per holding, while in General area 168 holdings comprise of 462 fragments, i.e. 2.68 fragments per holding. A comparison of the above figure with the average fragment figure of 3.67, 4.30, 4.40 and 3.91 per holding in Wilbur Hills, Chowing, Gbangie and Lakhingor districts respectively goes to show that incidence of fragmentation in this district is by far less than that in Wilbur Hills but far more than in other districts.

It will be seen from table [illegible] at the appendix that in the small holding group (one time 9 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 3.80 in Sardis, 1.80 in Project and 3.61 in General area. The average size of the corresponding holding group being 1.54 acres, 1.61 acres and 1.55 acres, in Sardis area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at .40 acres, .90 and .50 acres. Similarly it will be seen that average size of fragments for medium holding group are, in Sardis area 1.61 acres (average size of medium holding 5.03 acres) in Project area 1.01 acres (average size of holding 4.05 acres) and in General area 1.01 acres (average size of holding 4.00 acres) while the large holding group being 5.11 acres, 2.80 acres and 3.02 acres respectively against the average large holding area of [illegible] acres, 15.25 acres and 10.00 acres in the respective area.

## PARTS

3(a) 3(b) 3(c) 3(d) 3(e) 3(f) 3(g) 3(h) 3(i) 3(j) 3(k) 3(l) 3(m) 3(n) 3(o) 3(p) 3(q) 3(r) 3(s) 3(t) 3(u) 3(v) 3(w) 3(x) 3(y) 3(z)

3.1 The operating unit in the rural agricultural areas is in most cases the family farm. Permanent, occasional, casual and seasonal labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[illegible] In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land occupied by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this sense the farm is distinguished from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family exercised permanent right of occupancy and inheritance.

TABLE D-5

**Distribution of farms according to size**

5.5 The economic distribution of farms in the three areas is shown in the following table :—

| Size of farm in acres | Sample area | | | Region area | | | General area | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of farms | Total area (acres) | Average size of farm (acres) | No. of farms | Total area (acres) | Average size of farm (acres) | No. of farms | Total area (acres) | Average size of farm (acres) |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Below 5 acres | (1) | (2.0) | (2) | (2) | (5.0) | (2) | (1) | (2.0) | (2) |
| 5 - 9 acres | (3) | (21.0) | (7) | (3) | (21.0) | (7) | (1) | (7.0) | (7) |
| 10 - 19 acres | (6) | (87.0) | (14) | (7) | (91.0) | (13) | (2) | (26.0) | (13) |
| 20 - 29 acres | (10.0) | (11.0) | -- | (10.0) | (11.0) | -- | (0.0) | (0.0) | -- |
| 30 acres and above | (1) | (32.0) | (32) | (1) | (32.0) | (32) | (1) | (32.0) | (32) |
| Total | (21.0) | (21.0) | -- | (21.0) | (21.0) | -- | (4.0) | (4.0) | -- |
| | (32) | (183.0) | (6.0) | (23) | (160.0) | (7.0) | (5) | (71.0) | (14.2) |
| | (10.0) | (21.0) | -- | (10.0) | (11.0) | -- | (0.0) | (0.0) | -- |

24 The total number of fragments in 837 holdings in Bardia was 3,340 giving an average of 3.99 fragments per holding viz. in 441 holdings in Project area it [illegible] which gives on the average 3.56 fragments per holding, while in General area 396 holdings comprise of 885 fragments, i.e. 2.23 fragments per holding. A comparison of the above figures with the average fragment figures of 1.61, 2.32, 2.10 and 3.18 per holding in [illegible] Mills, Dhenkanal, Sambalpur and Lakhimpur districts respectively goes to show that resistance of fragmentation in this district is higher than that in [illegible] but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table No.1 at the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 5 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 1.90 in Bardia, 1.60 in Project and 2.01 in General area. The average size in the corresponding holding group being 1.36 acres 1.47 acres and 1.15 acres, in Bardia area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at [illegible] acres, .92 and .78 acres. Similarly it will be seen that average size of fragments for medium holding group are, in Bardia area 1.41 acres (average size of medium holding 5.03 acres) in Project area 1.05 acres (average size of holding 4.66 acres) and in General area 1.21 acres (average size of holding 4.02 acres), where the large holding group being 2.11 acres, 1.86 acres and 2.09 acres respectively against the average large holding size of [illegible] acres, 15.15 acres and 12.19 acres in the respective area.

## PATTERN

• 25 6.1 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most cases the family farm. Persons, cooperative, capital and [illegible] labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy season.

26 In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this sense the farm is distinguished from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family concerned permanent right of occupancy and inheritance.

58

It will be seen from the above table that the total number of farms in each of the three areas is greater than the number of holdings in the corresponding area. There are 958 farms in Border area holding, covering a total area of 1918.18 acres, whereas the corresponding figure in case of holdings, as we have already seen, are 874 and 1788.60 acres. In Project area 511 farms cover an area of 1838.19 acres, the corresponding figures being 447 and 1591.65 acres, while in General by holding area there are 511 farms which cover 2163.81 acres as against 480 holdings covering an area of 2132.36 acres. Two reasons may be attributed to these differences. In the first place, proportions of village land are owned by people from outside and rented out to people of the village. Secondly, there are some among the right holders who cultivate only part of their land and the remaining portion is either left fallow or leased out to others. The position will be made clear from a study of subsequent tables eg., D-6 and D-7 given elsewhere in this chapter.

The average size of farms for Border area, Project area and General area respectively are 2.16 acres, 3.56 acres and 3.71 acres which again are less than the corresponding figures of holding of 2.78 acres, 4.09 acres and 3.78 acres. The average size of both is however, hardly an adequate measure for judging the smallness of the farmers in as much a large proportion of cultivators ( 48%, 58% and 53% in Border area, Project area and General area respectively operate small size farms of less than 3 acres ( exact average being 1.33 acres for Border, 1.36 acres for Project and 1.88 acres for General area) and the total farm area cultivated by these cultivators constitute only 11%, 42% and 40% of the total farm areas in the Border area, Project area and General area respectively. In other areas proportion of families operating middle-sized farms, i.e., between 3 to less than 10 acres are 41%, 40% and 42%, covering respectively 42%, 54% and 58% of the total farm areas in the respective village groups. Proportions of families operating large sized farms, i.e., 10 acres and above in Border area, Project area and General area is respectively 10%, 6%, and 5%, possessing a comparatively bigger slice of farm land amounting to 47%, 32 per cent and 18 per cent of the total farm land in the respective area.

6.7 The following two tables give the distribution of farms and farm areas respectively according to size and ownership.

[illegible]

55

[illegible]

**[illegible] of farmers according to size and ownership**

| Size of farms | No. of farms | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [illegible] owned | [illegible] owned | [illegible] owned and partly leased | Other |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| **A. [illegible]** | | | | |
| Small farms | | | | |
| Less than 5 acres | — [illegible] (45.71) | [illegible] (11.47) | [illegible] (4.28) | [illegible] (100.00) |
| Medium farms | | | | |
| 5 to less than 15 acres | — [illegible] (38.10) | [illegible] (43.48) | [illegible] (51.42) | [illegible] (100.00) |
| Large farms | | | | |
| 15 acres & above | — [illegible] (50.67) | [illegible] (9.33) | [illegible] (7.33) | [illegible] (100.00) |
| Total | — [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| | — [illegible] (100.00) | [illegible] (18.88) | [illegible] (3.01) | [illegible] (100.00) |
| **B. Project area** | | | | |
| Small farms | | | | |
| Less than 5 acres | — [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| | [illegible] (79.31) | [illegible] (20.67) | [illegible] (1.34) | [illegible] (100.00) |
| Medium farms | | | | |
| 5 to less than 15 acres | — [illegible] (70.68) | [illegible] (5.45) | [illegible] (14.45) | [illegible] (100.00) |
| Large farms | | | | |
| 15 acres & above | — [illegible] (66.67) | [illegible] (13.33) | [illegible] (6.66) | [illegible] (100.00) |
| Total | — [illegible] (72.88) | [illegible] (11.55) | [illegible] (13.57) | [illegible] (100.00) |

[illegible]



T.1.65.6. D-4 (concld.)

[illegible]

| Size of farms | No. of farms | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Wholly owned | Wholly owned | Partly owned and partly owned | Total |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| C. Commercial crops— | | | | |
| Small farms— | | | | |
| Less than 5 acres ... | 11 | 1 | 11 | 23 |
| | (47.83) | (4.35) | (47.82) | (100.00) |
| Medium farms— | | | | |
| 5 to less than 10 acres | 62 | 2 | 5 | 69 |
| | (89.86) | (2.90) | (7.24) | (100.00) |
| Large farms— | | | | |
| 10 acres & above ... | 7 | — | 1 | 8 |
| | (87.50) | — | (12.50) | (100.00) |
| Total ... ... | 80 | 3 | 17 | 100 |
| | (80.00) | (3.00) | (17.00) | (100.00) |

# TABLE D-7

## Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Area in acres

| Size of farms | Wholly owned | Wholly rented | Partly Owned and partly rented | | | Total owned area (1+4) | Total rented area (3+5) | Total (7+8) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Owned area | Rented area | Total | | | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| **A. Bordoi area—** | | | | | | | | |
| Small farms— (less than 5 acres) | 318·68 | 91·50 | 14·79 | 27·52 | 42·31 | 333·69 | 112·78 | 446·11 |
| Medium farms— (5 to less than 30 acres) | 1396·43 | 769·94 | 94·51 | 66·91 | 161·96 | 1559·94 | 836·29 | 2396·23 |
| Farms— (30 acres and above) | 1340·88 | 139·23 | 58·80 | 80·85 | 139·23 | 1606·68 | 272·68 | 1879·36 |
| Total | 3055·97 | 981·67 | 168·09 | 194·48 | 362·22 | 3239·66 | 1219·53 | 4654·18 |
| | (79·43) | (12·57) | (4·29) | (4·97) | | (82·14) | (17·86) | (100·00) |

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TABLE D-7 (*concld.*)

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **B. Project area—** | | | | | | | | |
| Small farms— (less than 3 acres) | 305·13 | 59·29 | 28·67 | 41·58 | 70·05 | 333·59 | 100·87 | 434·46 |
| Medium farms— (3 to less than 10 acres) | 790·56 | 47·15 | 59·39 | 77·21 | 136·60 | 849·95 | 124·36 | 974·31 |
| Large farms— (10 acres and above) | 324·77 | 23·00 | 35·25 | 17·00 | 52·25 | 360·02 | 40·00 | 400·02 |
| Total | 1420·45 | 129·44 | 123·11 | 135·79 | 258·90 | 1543·56 | 265·23 | 1808·79 |
| | (78·53) | (7·16) | (6·81) | (7·50) | | (85·34) | (14·66) | (100·00) |
| **C. General area—** | | | | | | | | |
| Small farms— (less than 3 acres) | 136·08 | 7·25 | 8·57 | 9·25 | 17·82 | 134·65 | 16·50 | 151·15 |
| Medium farms— (3 acres to less than 10 acres) | 300·07 | 8·00 | 7·73 | 16·86 | 24·37 | 307·80 | 24·86 | 332·66 |
| Large farms— (10 acres and above) | 88·00 | — | 4·00 | 9·00 | 13·00 | 84·00 | 8·00 | 92·00 |
| Total | 508·15 | 15·25 | 20·30 | 24·11 | 54·59 | 526·45 | 49·36 | 575·81 |
| | (87·90) | (2·65) | (3·53) | (5·92) | (100·00) | (91·43) | (8·57) | (100·00) |

From the above tables it is evident that for all the areas in each size group small, medium and large, a high proportion of the farms (*i.e.*, in total 70 per cent in Border area, 78 per cent in Project area and 86 per cent in General area) is wholly owned and the area covered by those wholly owned farms also constitutes almost similar high proportions (*i.e.*, 79 per cent in Border area, 79 per cent in Project area and 88 per cent in General area) of the farm area available in the respective village group. Owned area under all farms amounts to 3238·66 acres (83 per cent of the total farm area) in Border area, 1543·56 acres (85 per cent) in Project area and 526·45 acres (91 per cent) in General area. Of this total owned area, in Border area nearly 95 per cent is covered by wholly owned farms and the rest by the partly owned farms. In Project area and General area respectively 92 per cent and 96 per cent of the total owned area are covered by wholly owned farms. Thus the area available for renting in Border area constitutes 17 per cent of the total farm land amounting to 675·52 acres of which 71 per cent is under wholly rented farm and 29 per cent under partly owned farm, in Project area total area available for renting constitutes 15 per cent (*i.e.*, 265·23 acres) of the total farm area of which 49 per cent and 51 per cent respectively are under wholly rented and partly owned farms while in General area 8·57 per cent (49·26 acres) of the total farm area are available for renting of which respectively 31 per cent and 69 per cent are covered by wholly rented and partly owned farms.

It is seen from Table D-7, that total rented area in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 675·52 acres, 265·23 acres and 49·36 acres. A comparison of these figures with the figures of land leased out as in Table D-2 which are respectively 251.41 acres, 91·56 acres and 16·75 acres in the three areas, goes to show that some of the village lands taken in rent by the villagers belong to some right-holders who live outside the village.

# CHAPTER VIII

## Farm Output and sale

8.1 As a large majority of the family income is mainly from their farms, an attempt is made below to analyse the data collected on farm output, disposal and sale of produce. The data relate to the agricultural year March, 1957 to February, 1957.

**8.2 Output:** The following table sets forth some interesting data on farm output average cultivated area, etc. of cultivators by value groups.

TABLE 7-1

**Number of families by Gross output group**

| Gross output group (Rs) | Border area | | Project area | | General area | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of families | Average cultivated area (acres) | No. of families | Average cultivated area (acres) | No. of families | Average cultivated area |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| 0 | 50 (7) | 3.12 | 20 (4) | 1.64 | 2 (1) | 2.25 |
| Less than 100 | 177 (25) | 1.87 | 47 (9) | 1.56 | 10(6) | 1.12 |
| 100—250 | 120 (16) | 2.97 | 84(16) | 1.80 | 39(23) | 2.05 |
| 250—500 | 161 (21) | 4.31 | 133(26) | 2.67 | 51(30) | 2.91 |
| 500—1000 | 143 (19) | 8.00 | 158(31) | 4.07 | 55(32) | 4.41 |
| 1000—2000 | 71 (9) | 10.52 | 57 (11) | 6.9 | 13(8) | 5.93 |
| 2000—3000 | 20 (3) | 15.24 | 8 (2) | 13.5 | 1 | 12.00 |
| 3000—4000 | 7 (1) | 16.09 | 2 (1) | 15.63 | — | .. |
| 4000 and above | 10 (1) | 12.07 | 2 | 16.25 | .. | ... |
| Total :— | 759(100) | | 511( 00) | | 171(100) | |

*162
• 241
433





## TABLE F-2

### Number of Families

| Gross output group Rs. | Border area | | | | Project area | | | | General area | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Small farms | Medium farms | Large farms | Total | Small farms | Medium farms | Large farms | Total | Small farms | Medium farms | Large farms | Total |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| 0 | 35 | 12 | 3 | 50 | 17 | 3 | — | 20 | 1 | 1 | .. | 2 |
| Less than 100 | 145 | 33 | 1 | 177 | 41 | 6 | .. | 47 | 9 | 1 | .. | 10 |
| 100 — 250 | 73 | 45 | 2 | 120 | 69 | 14 | 1 | 84 | 31 | 8 | .. | 39 |
| 250 — 500 | 60 | 86 | 15 | 161 | 95 | 37 | 3 | 135 | 32 | 18 | 1 | 51 |
| 500 — 1000 | 18 | 89 | 36 | 143 | 54 | 100 | 4 | 158 | 18 | 33 | 4 | 55 |
| 1000 — 2000 | 5 | 36 | 30 | 71 | 4 | 43 | 10 | 57 | .. | 11 | 2 | 13 |
| 2000 — 3000 | .. | 9 | 11 | 20 | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | 1 | 1 |
| 3000 — 4000 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 7 | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 4000 and above | .. | 4 | 6 | 10 | — | .. | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. |

As is to be expected, large output groups are associated with higher farm size groups. It will also be seen that proportion of farms with an output of less than Rs. 500.00 per annum in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 67 per cent, 55 per cent and 60 per cent. A joint consideration of the proportions and the size of cultivated area in the three groups indicates that the large majority of farms in Border area are less profitable than those in the other two areas though the farms in Border area are sown with very rich cash crops. This is further amplified by the fact that in Border area of the total number of farms fetching less than Rs. 500.00 a year, 35 per cent are medium sized farms and 4 per cent are large sized farms, the corresponding percentages for the Project area being 21 per cent and 1 per cent and for General area 27 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.

8.3.—The following table summarises the data on relative importance of crops, harvested area under different crops, average yeild of crops and sale proceeds, etc.

## TABLE F-3
### Yield rate of some important crops

| Crop | Border area | | | Project area | | | General area | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gross farm area harvested (in acres) | Average yield per acre | Sale proceed (Rs.0.00) | Gross farm area harvested (in acre) | Average yield per acre | Sale proceed (Rs.0.00) | Gross farm area harvested (In acre) | Average yield per acre | Sale proceed (Rs.0.00) |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| 1. Petel leaf | 298.69 | 17.15 | 15037 | 58.10 | 50.64 | 7867 | 10.50 | 24 | 486 |
| | (9) | (kuri) | (5) | (3) | (kuri) | (8) | (2) | (kuri) | (2) |
| 2. Arecanut | 891.80 | 2.93 | 184025 | 13.50 | 4·11 | 4719 | 8r50 | 3.03 | 1098 |
| | (27) | (luti) | (60) | (1) | (luti) | (5) | (1) | (luti) | (4) |
| 3. Orange | 1018.77 | 5.27 | 69404 | 52.34 | 16·76 | 5128 | 21.25 | 2·80 | 71 |
| | (31) | (luti) | (23) | (3) | (luti) | (5) | (4) | (luti) | (..) |
| 4. Potato | 20.70 | 17.49 | 1118 | 28.31 | 22.77 | 1143 | 37.40 | 27.16 | 9075 |
| | (1) | (mds) | (—) | (2) | (mds) | (1) | (7) | (mds) | (39) |
| 5. Paddy | 645.76 | 8.38 | 27609 | 1401.89 | 12.92 | 77243 | 342.75 | 12.60 | 1209 |
| | (19) | (mds) | (6) | (82) | (mds) | (77) | (61) | (mds) | (45) |
| 6. Millet | 101.80 | 3·5t | 370 | 4·10 | 8.78 | .132 | 22.94 | 6.94 | 737 |
| | (3) | (mds) | (—) | (—) | (mds) | (—) | (4) | (mds) | (3) |
| 7. Tapioca | 36·25 | 24.41 | 401 | .. | — | .. | 6.75 | 37.04 | 225 |
| | (1) | (mds) | (—) | .. | — | .. | (1) | (mds) | (—) |
| 8. Yam | 59.03 | 9.40 | 598 | 5.60 | 18·44 | 99 | 1.87 | 23.45 | 25 |
| | (2) | (mds) | (—) | (..) | (mds) | (—) | (—) | (mds) | (..) |
| 9 Others | 248.68 | .. | 16494 | 126·56 | .. | 3806 | 109.41 | .. | 3821 |
| | (7) | .. | (6) | (8) | .. | (4) | (19) | | (14) |
| Total | 3324.48 | ... | 3,09,496 | 1700.40 | .. | 100427 | 561.37 | .. | 26628 |
| | (100) | .. | (100) | (100) | .. | (100) | (100) | | (100) |

N.B. (a) 1 luti=1024 nos. in the case of orange.
=6400 „ „ „ betelnut.
(b) 1 Kuri=288 leaves.
(c) Potato here relates to potato hervested in winter months.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7
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241 311 433 8·4—**Relative importance of crops**—Total gross farm area harvested amounted to 3324.48 acres in Border area, 1700.40 acres in Project area and 561 acres in General area.

From above table it will be seen that in Border area, orange accounted for the highest proportion of harvested area, *i.e.*, 31 per cent, followed in order of importance by betel nut, paddy, betel leaf and millet which respectively accounts for 17 per cent, 19 per cent, 9 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. Other crops which account for 248.68 acres (7 per cent) includes maize, tezpata, banana, turmeric, dal, blackpepper and other fruit crops.

Considering sale proceeds, it is clear that betelnut happens to be the main earner accounting for 60 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by orange, paddy and betel leaf which respectively account for 22 per cent, 6 per cent and 5 per cent of the total sale proceeds. Thus orange and betel leaf which in pre-partition days were the main earner-crops in the Border area have been passed to second and forth position respectively—the proportions fetched by them, particularly by betel leaf, being negligible. On other hand as there is a good market for betel nut, Border people have taken to betel nut cultivation in a more extensive scale.

241 245 311 433 It is significant that while in Border area total farm area is 3914 acres, total area harvested comes to only 3325 acres including area under mixed cropping which is in wide practice in Border area particularly for orange, betelnut, and for some other minor crops. Thus proportion of unharvested farm area emerges out to be considerable which can be accounted for the following reasons:—

(1) The farm area includes some new gardens particularly of betelnuts which usually take quite a few years to bear fruits.

[44] (2) Reportedly a large number of orange and betel-leaf gardens were not harvested at all as there was no market for them.

241 433 44 Turning our attention to Project area and General area, it will be found that paddy eclipses all other crops in as much as in the two areas it respectively covers 82 per cent and 61 per cent of the total harvested area in the respective area. In Project area paddy is followed by Betel leaf, orange, potato and betelnut in order of importance while in General area it is followed by potato, millet, orange, betel leaf and betelnut. In both the areas as will be seen from table above, almost all the crops retain their respective position in value. Considering sale proceed, in Project area, paddy occupies the highest position accounting for 77 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by betel leaf, orange, betelnut and potato accounting respectively for 8 per cent, 5 per cent, 5 per cent and 1 per cent of the total sale proceeds. In General area, in order of importance of sale proceed paddy, potato and betelnut are worth mentioning fetching respectively 45 per cent, 30 per cent and 4 per cent of the total sale proceeds.

## CHAPTER—X

### Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and 743 as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a 871 radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also 489 be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages 482 have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the 161 General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area 212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen [562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 The working population ( earners and earning dependents ) is as high 464 as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

• 241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricul- * 162 tural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o 463 agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 61, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project 423 area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding ( 3 to less than 10 acres )

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7



accounting for 42, 54 and 58 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. Large holding (10 acres and above) covering 46, 22 and 16 per cent of the total holding area in the Border, Project and General areas respectively were possessed by 18, 7 and 5 per cent of the families of the respective areas. 162* 423

The average size of family holding worked out at 7.7 acres for Border area, 4·1 acres for Project area and 3·7 acres for the General area. The average size of cultivated holding per family in the three areas was found to be 5·1, 3·4 and 3·2 acres respectively.

10.5. The total number of farms in Border area, Project area and General area were respectively 759, 611 and 171 covering respectively 3914·18 acres, 1808·79 acres, and 575·81 acres, bringing the average size of farms to 5·16 acres in Border area, 3·54 acres in Project area and 2·20 acres in General area. 241 311 423

Percentage distribution of these farms and farm area by different size group is depicted in the following table.

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| Size of farms (acres) | Border Area | | | Project Area | | | General area | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | P. C. of farms (farms) | P. C. of area (area) | Average Size (acres) | P. C. of farms | P. C. of area | Average size (acres) | P. C. of farms | P. C. of area | Average size (acres) |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 1. Small farms (less than 3 acres). | 44.14 | 11.13 | 1.33 | 54.41 | 24.98 | 1.56 | 53.22 | 26.25 | 1.66 |
| 2. Medium farms 3 to less than 10 acres). | 41.50 | 42.18 | 5.24 | 39.72 | 53.97 | 4.90 | 42.11 | 57.77 | 4.62 |
| 3. Large farms (above 10 acres) | 14.37 | 46.42 | 16.67 | 5.87 | 22.11 | 13.93 | 4.67 | 15.98 | 11.50 |
| Total | 100.00 | 100.00 | 5.16 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 3.55 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 2.20 |

426 Of the total number of loans 81 per cent in Border area, 18 per cent in Project area and 20 per cent in General area were free of interest while rate of interest for 9 per cent, 30 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of the loans in the three areas were found to be 20 per cent or more per annum which in cases ranged upto 200 per cent.

241 434 592 10.8. Farm output of 67 per cent of the families in Border area, 56 per cent of families in Project area and 60 per cent of families in General area were less than Rs. 500. a year, while 5 per cent, 30 per cent and 1 per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. 2,000·00 a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms fetching less than or Rs. 500.00 a year in Border area 35 per cent of them are medium sized farms and 4 per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being 21 per cent, 1 per cent, 27 per cent and 1 per cent.

24 433 10.9. In Border area the most important crops are oranges, betelnut, paddy, and betel leaf which respectively accounted for 31 per cent, 27 per cent, 19 per cent and 9 per cent of the total harverted area. In Project area paddy and orange are the most important crop which accounted respectively for 82 per cent and 8 per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are paddy and potato which respectively accounted for 61 per cent and 7 per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per acre worked out at paddy 11.65 maunds, potato 21.61 maunds, oranges 5.77 lutis (5908 numbers) and betelnut 2.95 lutis (12980 numbers). These yield exhibited wide variation among the three areas.

434 592 10.10. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. 750, Rs. 750 to less than Rs. 3,000, and above Rs. 3,000, were respectively found to be 49 per cent, 45 per cent and 6 per cent in Border area, 34 per cent, 60 per cent and 6 per cent in Project area and 45 per cent, 54 per cent and 1 per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out at Rs. 1,076·30 in Border area, Rs. 1,229.40 nP. in Project area and Rs. 864·36 nP. in General area which for predominantly agricultural and non-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. 1,035·06 nP. and Rs. 1,161.91 nP. in Border area, Rs. 1,095·33 nP. and 1,644·36 nP. in Project area and Rs. 873.98 nP. and 780·84 nP. in General area. In all the three areas main contributors to family income were agriculture, service-profession-labour and trade accounting respectively for 41 per cent, 35 per cent and 15 per cent of the total average income in Border area, 37 per cent, 40 per cent and 9 per cent in Project area and 53 per cent, 36 per cent and 5 per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between Rs. 60 to 2,849 in Border area, between Rs. 110 to Rs. 3,508 in Project area and between Rs. 92 to Rs. 2,004 in General area. The average over all per family net annual income worked out at Rs. 853 in Border area, Rs. 989 in project area and Rs. 750 in General area and the same *per capita* at Rs. 231 in Border area, Rs. 215 in Project area and Rs. 153 in General area.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7



(9) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of
241 the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4. 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásiás can scarcely be
423 considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
433 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7



reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-lúr* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kodáli*, called *u-mo-khiáw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7



on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wâr-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wâr-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wâr-Khâsi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wâr-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wâr-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wâr-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wâr people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wâr-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

273 krem. Before I could enter a hut the occupants had to remove a man who was dead drunk. Over
352 the fireplace hangs a rack on which wood is piled up for drying; also food provisions, rice, etc. are kept dry here during the rainy season. Behind it a rack made of sturdy beams runs straight through the center and sometimes extends along the sides. On it all kinds of household items are kept. In the better houses the best dishes of shiny, polished brass and china are displayed here. This rack also serves as a partition behind which, on the sides and at the rear wall of the house, are the sleeping accommodations.
[35] Considering the very unprepossessing physical appearance of the people, it is surprising how orderly and clean the houses are kept inside.
342 In the principal towns the well-to-do have already adopted the brick building and European comfort. With the Lynngam and the Bhoi, however, we still find the pile dwelling (77). The houses

77. Gurdon, ibid., p. 32. There it is mentioned (above) that in some villages of the subdivision of the War pile dwellings are built because the main part of the house rests on firm ground on the mountain side and then extends on piles over the slope. (Cf. the Garo.) The same people still use the bachelor house.

have a length from 10 to 12 meters with a veranda which among the Lynngam is in front, among the Bhoi in the rear of the house. These people
[24] still practise migratory agriculture and therefore move their flimsily constructed houses every two or three years when they change to new fields. It follows that the Khasi house, as described above, represents an advanced construction method. That in earlier days bamboo construction was